

Clause Constructions in Nanwang Puyuma

Malcolm Ross

*Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies
and Centre for Research on Language Change,
The Australian National University and St Catherine's College, Oxford*

Stacy Fang-ching Teng

*Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies,
The Australian National University*

The purpose of this paper is to apply Croft's (2001) Radical Construction Grammar approach to an analysis of the major clause types in Puyuma in order to show how a constructional approach can illuminate the relationship among constructions from a typological perspective. When we compare the Puyuma clause system with that of English, we find the clause systems of the two languages are strikingly different. In English, all major clause types contain a verb and reflect a shared parent construction. On the other hand, Puyuma has three distinct systems: the verbal system, the copula system, and the system based on existential morphemes, and each with its own parent construction(s).

Key words: Puyuma, Radical Construction Grammar, clause types, typology, verbal clause, copula, classifying clause, identifying clause, locative clause, existential clause, possessive clause

1. Introduction

The usual approach to describing a language is to posit a number of word- and morpheme- classes which provide the building blocks for constructing phrases and clauses. Phrases and clauses are said to be built up from words and morphemes belonging to certain classes, but word- and morpheme- classes are then defined on the basis of their members' distribution in various phrasal and clausal constructions. This is circular argument. Either word- and morpheme- classes are the primitives of grammar, and we define constructions as combinations of members of those classes, or constructions are primitives, and we define their components on the basis of their roles in those constructions, but we cannot rationally do both simultaneously. Unfortunately most grammars do just this. Croft (2001) suggests that the grammar of a language, i.e. the grammatical knowledge that a speaker has in her/his head, can be regarded as a structured inventory of grammatical constructions. We will follow him in assuming in this paper that constructions are primitives, and we will define their components on the basis of their roles in these constructions.

The goal of this paper is to apply this approach to an analysis of the major clause types in Puyuma, an Austronesian language of southern Taiwan, not so much for the sake of describing Puyuma clauses (which has been done before—see Tsuchida 1980, Cauquelin 1991, Tan 1997, Zeitoun *et al.* 1999, Huang 2000, Zeitoun 2000) as in order to show how a constructional approach can illuminate the relationships among constructions from a typological perspective. For the sake of illustration and comparison we will first provide a brief account of the major clause types of English.

2. English clause types

Figure 1 shows a taxonomy of English clause constructions.¹ The taxonomy is to be read as saying that the intransitive, transitive, copula and existential clause constructions are all instantiations of the parent clause construction S_J P_{RED} (the verbal agreement construction is discussed below). The parentage of the first three of these constructions is transparent, but the proposal that the existential clause construction instantiates the parent clause construction may seem rather surprising, as it lacks an overt subject. We return to this below.

Croft (2001: 26) represents I_{TRV} and T_{RV} separately because, as we noted above, each component of a construction is defined by the construction in which it occurs. The set of verbs that may occur in the intransitive construction is not the same as the set that may occur in the transitive construction, although there are many overlaps.

¹ This is a substantial modification of and extrapolation from the diagrams on pages 26 to 56 of Croft (2001). His intention is different from ours, as he is showing that, for example, T_{RSJ} *kick the bucket* is a construction which is a more specific instantiation of the constructions.

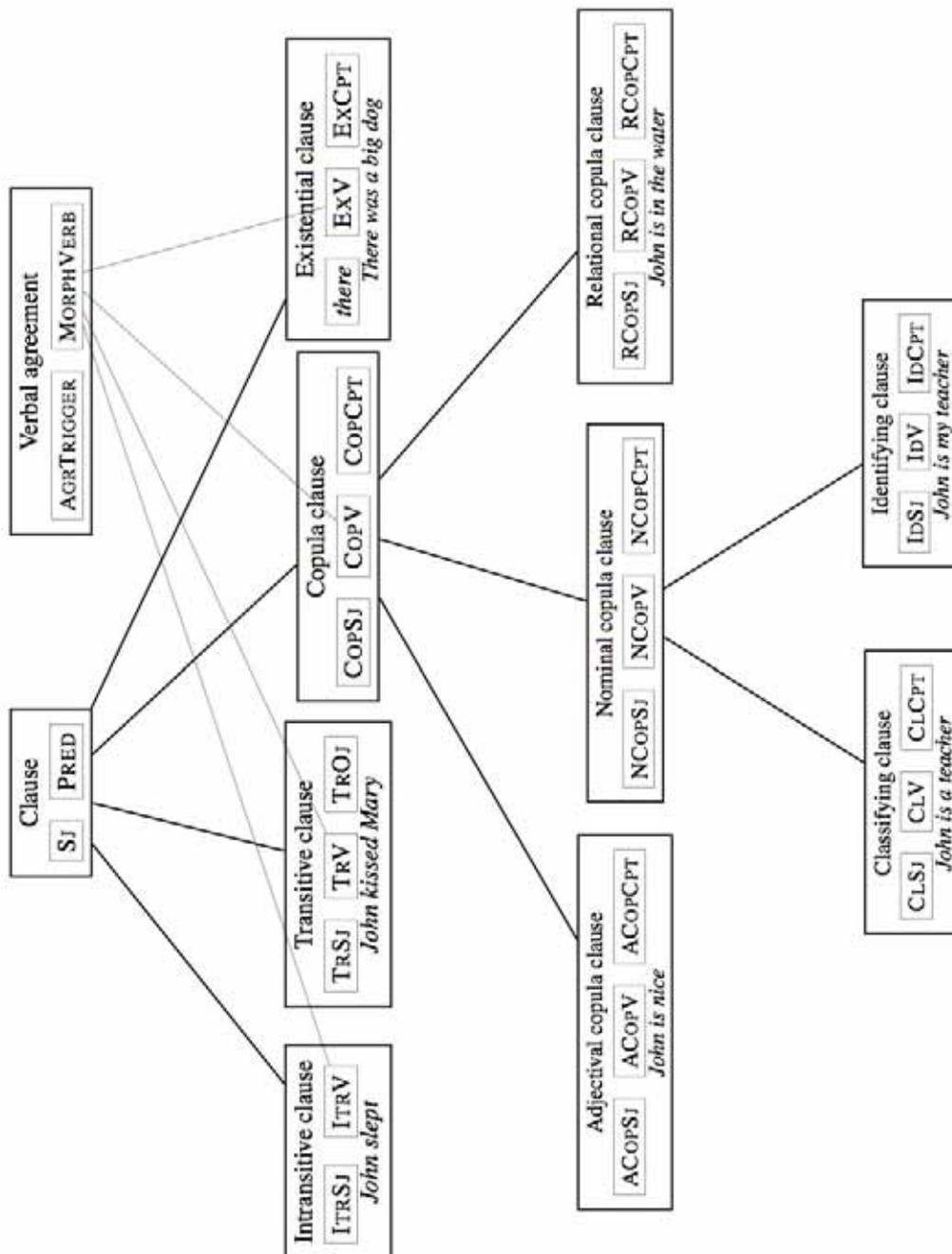


Figure 1: A(n incomplete) taxonomy of English clause

For reasons of space Figure 1 shows only the first two of the constructions exemplified in (1) below, but it would be a mistake to think that these largely exhaust the possibilities of English clause constructions with non-copular, non-existential verbs. The listing below, extracted from Goldberg's (1995:51-54, 63-64) analysis of English verbal clause constructions, is also nowhere near exhaustive.²

(1) Construction		Example
a. Intransitive	ITRSJ ITRV	<i>John slept</i>
b. Transitive	TRSJ TRV TRObj	<i>John kissed Mary</i>
c. Ditransitive	DTRSJ DTRV DTRObj1 DTRObj2	<i>John handed Mary a letter</i>
d. Extended intransitive	EITRSJ EITRV EITREXT	<i>John looked at Mary</i>
e. Extended transitive	ETRSJ ETRV ETROJ ETREXT	<i>John put a letter on the table</i>
f. Transitive with adjectival complement	ATRSJ ATRV ATROJ ATRCPT	<i>John drove Mary crazy</i>

Figure 1 deals with copula clauses in greater detail, as this is a locus of differences between English and Puyuma. There are three major types of copula clause, which differ in the construction chosen for the complement and in the range of available copula verbs. The adjectival copula construction allows the widest range: ACOP V may be one of a number of state verbs (e.g. *be, remain, stay, seem, appear, look, sound*) and inceptive verbs (e.g. *become, get, turn, grow*). Nominal and relational copula constructions allow only the stative verbs *be, remain, stay*, and the nominal constructions also permit the inceptive *become*.

Nominal copula clauses have two functions: either they say that the subject is a member of a class, e.g. *John is a teacher*, or that the subject is identical with the complement, e.g. *John is my teacher*. These are treated as separate instantiations of the nominal copula clause construction because they are differently encoded: a classifying clause has an indefinite complement, an identifying clause a definite complement.

The relational copula clause construction has as its complement one of the structures otherwise used in English as adverbial adjuncts. In the example shown in the figure, *John is in the water*, the complement is a prepositional phrase (*in the water*), but it could instead be a locative adverb, e.g. *there*. We use the label 'relational' rather than 'locative' because non-locative phrases like *under the weather* and *in a bad mood* also instantiate this construction.

It is the norm for a sentence to have several parent constructions, not just one.

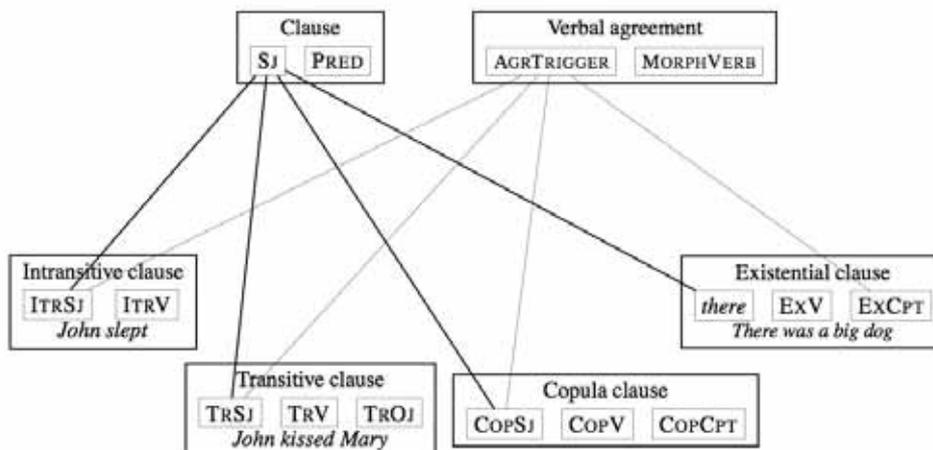
² The labels are ours. A key to abbreviations is given in Appendix B.

Figure 1 shows two of the parents of the major clause constructions of English, the clause construction itself, S_J P_{RED}, and the verbal agreement construction, AGR TRIGGER MORPH VERB. Since each component of a construction is defined by the construction itself, the verbs of the major clause constructions are shown as ITRV, TRV, COPV and EXV respectively. However, all these verbs reflect the same verbal morphology, i.e. they reflect a common morphological verb construction MORPH VERB (the internal details of which are not shown in the figure; see Croft 2001:55-56). Hence MORPH VERB is shown as the parent of each of the verbs of the major constructions. One component of MORPH VERB is agreement. If the subject in the present tense is third person singular, the verb takes -s, e.g. *John sleeps*, otherwise it takes nothing, e.g. *I/you/we/they sleep*. For the verb *be* there is more complex agreement morphology. MORPH VERB is thus itself a component of a verbal agreement construction (for details of how such a construction works, see Croft 2001:232). We use the term ‘agreement trigger’, AGR TRIGGER here, because in the existential clause construction, agreement is triggered not by the subject but by the existential complement, EXCPT, e.g. *There was a big dog* but *There were big dogs*.

Given this circumstance, the proposal that the existential clause construction instantiates the parent construction S_J P_{RED} requires explanation. The point here is that what are usually taken to be the properties of the English ‘subject’ are split between two components in the existential clause construction, as Figure 2 shows. The property of triggering verbal agreement goes to EXCPT, whilst the syntactic property of entering into subject–auxiliary inversion in (among other things) polar questions remains with *there*. This property is attributed to S_J in the parent construction S_J P_{RED}, and *there* is thus treated as an instantiation of S_J.³

³ Th
multi **Figure 2: English 'subject' constructions**

1 other than the need to avoid a



The subject–auxiliary inversion construction is shown in Figure 3. The parent clause construction and its four daughters in Figures 1 and 2 specify the predicate and the linkings to its arguments, but not the full order of its constituents, which may vary. Thus the inversion construction in Figure 3 shows the ordering of elements (marked by < ‘precedes’) and the multiple parentage of the inverted transitive clause *Did Mary kiss her son?* A corresponding multiple parentage would produce the inverted existential clause *Was there a big dog?*

2.1 Product-oriented constructions

Linguists are fond of describing languages in terms of abstract rules which are convenient because they are brief and elegant, and we are no exceptions. Figure 3 is probably a short cut, as it seems almost certain that the structured inventory of grammatical constructions in a native English speaker’s head does not include either constructions with unordered constituents or constructions as abstract as the inversion construction in Figure 3.

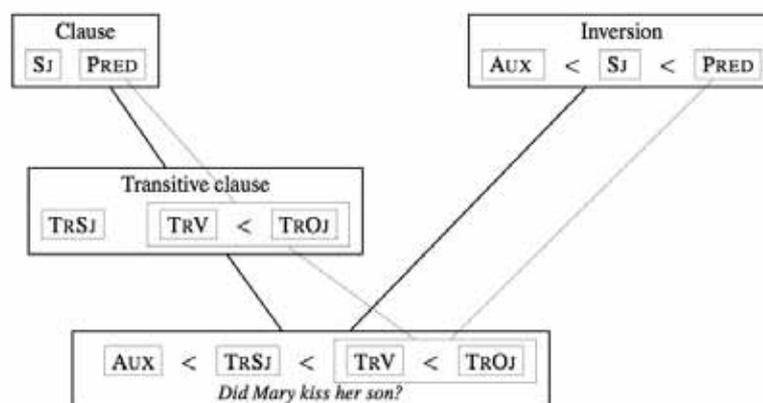


Figure 3: English subject—auxiliary inversion

Instead, speakers have, for example, a network of constructions that includes a pairing of the declarative transitive progressive construction $TrSj < BE-TPN < TrV-ing < TrOj$, e.g. *Mary was kissing her son* and the (inverted) interrogative transitive progressive construction $BE-TPN < TrSj < TrV-ing < TrOj$ (*Was Mary kissing her son?*), as well as similar pairings of perfect $TrSj < HAVE-TPN < TrV-en/ed < TrOj$ (*Mary has kissed her son*) with $HAVE-TPN < TrSj < TrV-en/ed < TrOj$ (*Has Mary kissed her son?*) and emphatic $TrSj < DO-TPN < TrV < TrOj$, (*Mary did kiss her son*) with $DO-TPN < TrSj < TrV < TrOj$ (*Did Mary kiss her son?*). The constructional links between the members of each pair are similar to each other: the $TrSj$ and the auxiliary (*BE*, *HAVE* or *DO*) are inverted. This is captured in Figure 3 by the inversion construction, but we have no guarantee that speakers have this more abstract construction in their heads. Indeed, we have no guarantee that every speaker makes the same abstractions.

Notice that there is a further pair of constructions, and here the link between its members works differently. These are the transitive simple constructions $TrSj < TrV-TPN < TrOj$ (*Mary kissed her son*) and $DO-TPN < TrSj < TrV < TrOj$ (*Did Mary kiss her son?*). The auxiliary *DO* must be added to form the interrogative, and so the relationship between declarative and interrogative is different from that between the pairs above. The inversion construction simply captures the structure of the product. It is what various linguists have called a ‘product-oriented schema’ (Bybee 1995, Croft and Cruse 2004: 300-302, 313-318), i.e. a construction which describes a set of outcomes but not the relationship between some other construction and those outcomes. In the present instance we know that English once had a more general

Subject–Verb inversion construction which would have produced something like *Slept John?*, and that as this construction became confined to Subject–Auxiliary inversion, the inverted form corresponding to emphatic *John did sleep* extended its functional domain to become the (unpredictable) inverted form corresponding to *John slept*. This process was completed during the seventeenth century (Denison 1993: 458).

3. Puyuma clause types

The brief presentation of English clause types above presumed a familiarity with the data. Here, however, we will present one or two examples of each clause type and build a basic taxonomy of Puyuma clause constructions piece by piece.

The Puyuma taxonomy is more complicated than the English taxonomy because

- the P_{RED} of every English clause contains a verb, but some categories of P_{RED} in Puyuma do not;
- all English clauses have a subject, but not all Puyuma clauses have one.

3.1 Puyuma verbal clause constructions

3.1.1 Transitive and intransitive verbal constructions and alignment

There are two major verbal constructions in Puyuma, intransitive and transitive (and one construction which occurs much less often, the ambient construction). Unlike their English counterparts, the transitivity of Puyuma verbs is indicated morphologically. That is, the distinction between ITRV and TRV is not simply one of class membership (as it is in English) but also of morphology, and there is no general MORPH_{VERB} construction of the kind shown in Figure 1 that unites all verbs in a single category. The details of verbal morphology lie outside the purview of this paper (for details see Teng In preparation). Suffice it to say here that an intransitive verb is marked by the infix inserted after the root-initial consonant, as in (2) or by an *m*-initial prefix or absence of affixation. The single argument of the intransitive verb is in the nominative case, marked here by the case-marker *i*:⁴

- (2) *sa-senay i walegan*
 <ITR>PROG-sing NOM:S Walegan
 ‘Walegan is/was singing.’

A transitive verb is marked by one of several suffixes, including *-aw* in (3).

⁴ Case markers found in the examples are shown in Table 1 in Appendix A.

The more agent-like argument (actor) of the verb appears in the **oblique** case but is coreferenced in the verb phrase by a **genitive** proclitic, while the more patient-like argument (undergoer) is **nominative**.⁵

- (3) *tu=tusuk-aw na Lutung kan walegan*
 GEN:3=pierce-TR1 NOM monkey OBL:S Walegan
 ‘Walegan speared the monkey.’

We will call the nominative-marked noun phrase of both the intransitive and transitive constructions the ‘subject’. However, the alignment of this subject with semantic roles differs from the alignment of the English subject. Across languages there are two major types of relationship between intransitive and transitive clauses. In English, the single argument of the intransitive construction and the more agent-like (actor) argument of a transitive construction are marked in the same way (as subject), and the more patient-like (undergoer) argument of a transitive is marked differently.⁶ The distinction is marked by constituent order and, with personal pronouns, by case, as illustrated in (4).

- (4) a. ITR_{SJ} ITR_V
 | |
 he *slept*
- b. TR_{SJ} TR_V TR_{OJ}
 | | |
 he *kissed* *her*
 | |
 ACTOR UNDERGOER

In Puyuma, the single argument of the intransitive construction and the **undergoer** argument of a transitive construction are marked in the same way (as subject), and the actor argument of the transitive is marked differently. The distinction is marked by case, as illustrated in (5).

⁵ Bound pronouns found in the examples are shown in Table 2 in Appendix A.

⁶ We use the terms ‘actor’ and ‘undergoer’ simply as a means of labelling the core (or term) arguments of a transitive clause in order to compare them across languages which grammaticise them in different ways. They are not universal semantic categories. In Puyuma, for example, more than one role may be grammaticised as undergoer with a given verb root, in much the same way as there is undergoer alternation in English *He loaded **the cart** with hay* versus *He loaded **hay** onto the cart*.

- (5) a. ITRV ITRSJ
 | |
sa-senay *i walegan*
 <ITR>PROG-sing NOM:S Walegan
 ‘Walegan is/was singing.’
- b. GEN= TrV TrSJ TrAGT
 | | | |
tu= dirus-aw na gung kan walegan
 GEN:3S= bathe-TR:1 NOM OX OBL:SG Walegan
 | | | |
 ACTOR UNDERGOER ACTOR
 ───────────────────────────────────
 ‘Walegan washed the ox.’

In conventional terms, the English alignment of the transitive actor argument with the intransitive subject is an ‘accusative’ alignment, whilst the Puyuma alignment of the transitive undergoer argument with the intransitive subject is an ‘ergative’ alignment. Prototypically, an accusative language like English also has a passive voice construction in which the potential undergoer becomes the subject of an intransitive clause (e.g. *Mary was kissed by John*) and the potential actor is deleted or encoded as a non-core argument.⁷ An ergative language has an antipassive voice construction in which the potential actor becomes the subject of an intransitive clause and the potential undergoer is deleted or encoded as if it were a non-core argument. Thus in Puyuma we find ‘antipassive’ independent clauses like (6) in which the verb is intransitive and the (necessarily indefinite) potential undergoer /patient is in oblique case (with no verbal cross referencing).⁸

- (6) *tusuk i walegan Da Lutung*
 <ITR>pierce NOM:S Walegan OBL:INDEF monkey
 ‘Walegan speared a monkey.’

However, there is a crucial difference between the organisation of verbal morphology in Puyuma and its organisation in a prototypical ergatively aligned language like, say, the Australian language Dyirbal. In Dyirbal the antipassive voice in (7c) has a special antipassive marker *-nga-*, whilst the verbs in the intransitive

⁷ We use the terms ‘potential actor’ and ‘potential undergoer’ for the arguments which could assume actor and undergoer roles in a corresponding transitive clause.

⁸ Upper-case letters represent retroflex consonants in Puyuma orthography.

construction in (7a) and in the transitive construction in (7b) are both unmarked for voice.⁹

- (7) Dyirbal:
- a. *nguma banaga-nyu*
father:ABS return-NONFUT
‘Father returned.’
 - b. *yabu nguma-nggu bura-n*
mother:ABS father-ERG see-NONFUT
‘Father saw mother.’
 - c. *nguma bura-nga-nyu yabu-gu*
father:ABS see-ANTIPASS-NONFUT mother-DAT
‘Father saw mother.’ (Dixon 1994: 10, 13)

In Puyuma, the verb is always marked for transitivity/voice, but it is the antipassive and the intransitive that are marked in the same way, with in both intransitive (2) and ‘antipassive’ (6). There is no dedicated antipassive marker, and the verb in the ‘antipassive’ construction **is** the intransitive. The tabulation in (8) summarises the alignment differences between Dyirbal and Puyuma (English is added as an example of an accusative language).

(8)	Dyirbal	Puyuma	English
Subject	S+U	S+U	S+A
Verbal morphology	ITR +UVOICE	ITR+AVOICE	ITR+AVOICE

The ‘Subject’ row records subject alignments (S= argument of intransitive, A= Actor, U= Undergoer). The ‘Verbal morphology’ row records the facts we have just observed.

3.1.2 Valency adjustment and increase, alias ‘focus’

In the descriptive tradition of the last forty years or so, a salient feature of Formosan and Philippine languages is their so-called ‘focus’ system, according to which a verbal affix indicates the semantic role of the subject. We have already analysed the ‘actor focus’, illustrated in (6), as an antipassive-like intransitive construction, used when the undergoer is indefinite. The other three focuses are all

⁹ Abbreviations peculiar to the Dyirbal examples are: ABS absolutive, ANTIPASS antipassive, DAT dative, ERG ergative, NONFUT non-future.

variants of the transitive construction, with differing verbal suffixes: *-aw* in (3), *-ay* in (9a) and *-anay* in (9b). If the clause is independent, the (undergoer) subject must be definite. Traditionally these three focuses are named something like ‘patient focus’, ‘location focus’ and ‘instrument focus’. Instead we label them 1, 2 and 3, since the only semantic generalisation we can make about them is that they tend to encode varying degrees of affectedness of the undergoer subject, from strongest to weakest (for more detail on this and other analytic decisions in this section, see Ross and Teng forthcoming). The exact meaning of a given root + affix combination is not predictable.

- (9) a. *tu=tusuk-ay* *Da* *daum nantu* *Tanguru'* *kana*
GEN:3=pierce-TR2 OBL:INDEF needle NOM:P:3 head OBL:DEF
Lutung kan walegan
 monkey OBL:S *Walegan*
 ‘Walegan pierced the monkey’s head with a needle.’
- b. *tu=tusuk-anay* *na* *dedereran* *Da* *Lutung* *kan*
GEN:3=pierce-TR3 NOM spear.type OBL:INDEF monkey OBL:DEF
walegan
Walegan
 ‘Walegan speared monkeys with the *dedereran* (= kind of spear).’

The transitive suffixes are functionally similar to the applicative affixes that occur in many languages (they are well known from Bantu languages). They allow different referents to become the undergoer. In some languages, there is also an increase in valency from two (actor and undergoer) to three (actor, undergoer and oblique-marked patient). This can happen with Puyuma TR2 and TR3 and is what we see in (9b). With TR3, an instrument or theme often becomes subject, like *na enay* ‘the water’ in (9b). There are two obliques, *Da Lutung* and *kan walegan*. Constituent order signals that *kan walegan* is the actor, coreferenced by the verbal proclitic *tu=* GEN:3S, whilst *Da Lutung* is the patient. The fact that *Da Lutung* is indefinite also indicates that it is the patient: if it were definite, it would be the subject with TR1, as in (3).

Notice that there is a constructional parallel between the presence of the patient *Da Lutung* in the transitive clause in (9b) and the presence of the patient *Da Lutung* in the ‘antipassive’ intransitive clause in (6).¹⁰ In both examples the patient is marked

¹⁰ When a common noun phrase occurs as an oblique patient, an indefinite interpretation is inevitable if the clause is independent. When a personal noun phrase occurs in this slot, it is of course definite.

as oblique, but it is not an adjunct. In the terminology of Dixon and Aikhenvald (2000), it is an ‘extension to core’, as it is not omissible without changing the meaning of the clause. Thus the patient behaves semantically like a core argument, but it has the case-marking of an adjunct. It is comparable to *at Mary* in English *John looked at Mary* or *to Mary* in *John handed a letter to Mary*.

Across languages, verbs meaning ‘give’ are the strongest candidates for occurrence in constructions with a third argument, and it is unsurprising to find that the transitive form of the Puyuma verb ‘give’ occurs in the same construction as the verb in (9b), treating the theme *Da ruma* ‘a house’ as a patient:

- (10) *tu-beray-ay* *Da* *ruma*’ *kan* *walegan* *i* *pilay*
 GEN:3S=give-TR2 OBL:INDEF house OBL:S Walegan NOM Pilay
 ‘Walegan gave Pilay a house.’

3.1.3 The ambient clause construction

At the opposite extreme from the three-argument verbal construction is the construction with **no** argument, the so-called ‘ambient verb’ construction. The argumentless verb usually denotes a meteorological event, as in (11). It has the form of an intransitive verb.

- (11) ’udal *la* *i* *maka-Daya* *kana* *Dekal*
 <ITR>rain PERF LOC somewhere-west OBL village
 ‘It rained somewhere in the west of the village.’

3.1.4 A taxonomy of verbal clause constructions

Figure 4 presents a taxonomic network of the zero-, one-, two- and three-argument verbal constructions that have been described above. Notice that the ambient clause construction is isolated from the rest of the network, as the only thing it shares with any other clause type is the morphology of its verb: it is identical with the verb in intransitive clause constructions.¹¹ Verbal clause constructions other than the ambient clause share a parent construction with a subject.

¹¹ No corresponding morphological transitive verb construction is shown, as it is redundant: its only daughter is the verb in the transitive verb construction (TRV).

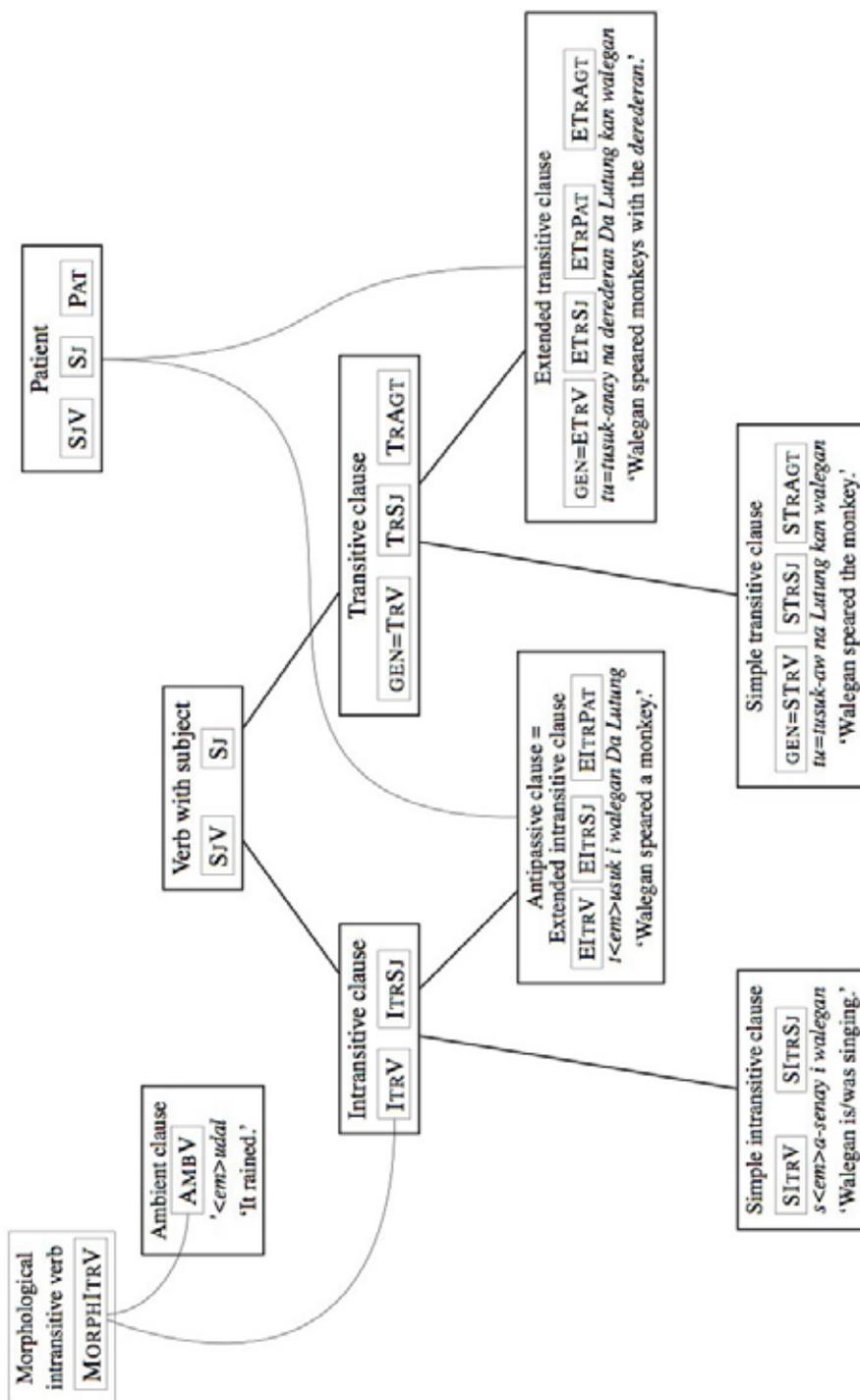


Figure 4: A taxonomy of Puyuma verbal clause

The two extended clause constructions, i.e. those with a patient, are shown with two parent constructions: the ‘patient’ construction represents the addition of the oblique patient to what would otherwise be simple intransitive and transitive constructions.

3.1.5 The nominative enclitic construction and the nominative null instantiation construction

We noted above that the agent in a transitive construction is encoded by a genitive proclitic on the verb, whilst the agent NP, if any, is in the oblique, as in (3), (9a) and (9b). These examples also show that a **third** person **subject** is **not** encoded on the verb. When the subject is first or second person, however, it is encoded by a nominative enclitic pronoun, as in (12a) and (12b).

- (12) a. *sa-senay=ku*
 <ITR>PROG-Sing= NOM:1S
 ‘I am/was singing.’
- b. *tu=dirus-aw=ku* *kan* *walegan*
 GEN:3S=bathe-TR1=NOM:1S OBL:S Walegan
 ‘Walegan washed me.’

The genitive proclitic and the nominative enclitic require different analyses. The genitive proclitic is part of the transitive clause construction, but the nominative enclitic occurs in both transitive and intransitive constructions, as (12a) and (12b) show. What is more, it is also attached to items other than verbs. It is tempting to analyse the item to which hosts the nominative enclitic as the ‘predicate’, but we will see below that this is probably not the best analysis. Instead, nominative enclitics are best treated as ‘second-position’ clitics, a syntactic category which occurs in many languages. A second-position clitic is inserted after the first item in the clause. This definition, in turn, requires a definition of the first item in the clause. The first item in a Puyuma clause is the first phonological word (*tu=dirus-aw* in 12b), not counting any preposed topic or adjunct. We will see further examples below. We will also see in §3.1.6 and §3.2.1, however, that there are constructions in which the nominative enclitic appears not to occupy the second position.

The nominative enclitic thus reflects a separate parent construction. Figure 5 shows how the clause *tu=dirusaw=ku kan Walegan* ‘Walegan washed me’ inherits both the transitive clause construction and the nominative non-3rd-person enclitic construction. The latter is a parent of most clauses which contain a non-third person nominative enclitic.

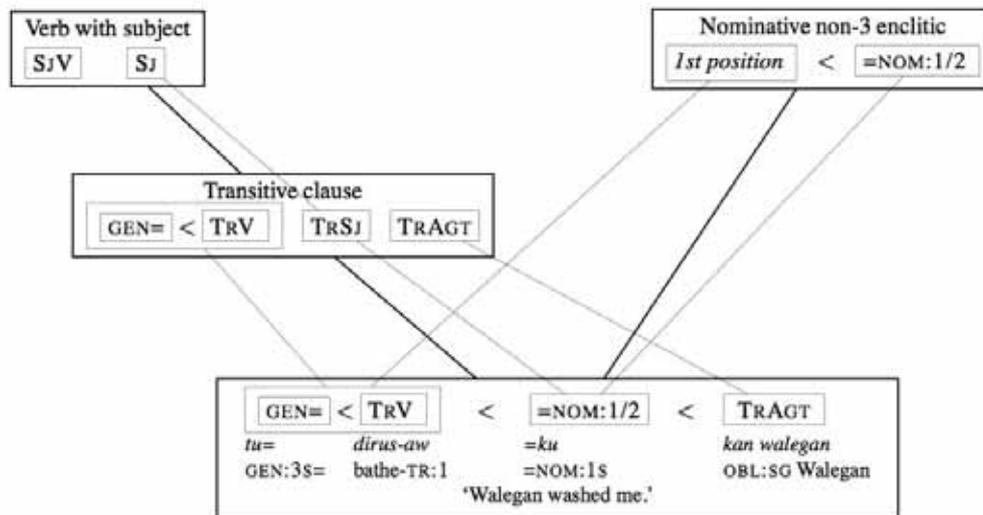


Figure 5: Puyuma first- and second-person nominative

When the subject is third person subject and there is no subject noun phrase, the subject is not instantiated, as in the sentences in (13).

- (13) a. *sa-senay*
 <ITR>PROG -sing
 ‘S/he is/was singing.’
- b. *tu=dirus-aw kan walegan*
 GEN:3 =bathe-TR1 OBL:S Walegan
 ‘Walegan washed her/him/it.’

Again this reflects a separate parent construction, illustrated with a transitive clause in Figure 6. Linguists often describe the absence of a morpheme as a ‘zero morpheme’, but this is really a convenient shorthand for ‘no morpheme’, except in theories that recognise invisible underlying forms. It is the fact that the construction as a whole **lacks** a nominative enclitic or a nominative noun phrase which signals to the hearer that the relevant semantic role requires a contextually accessible referent.

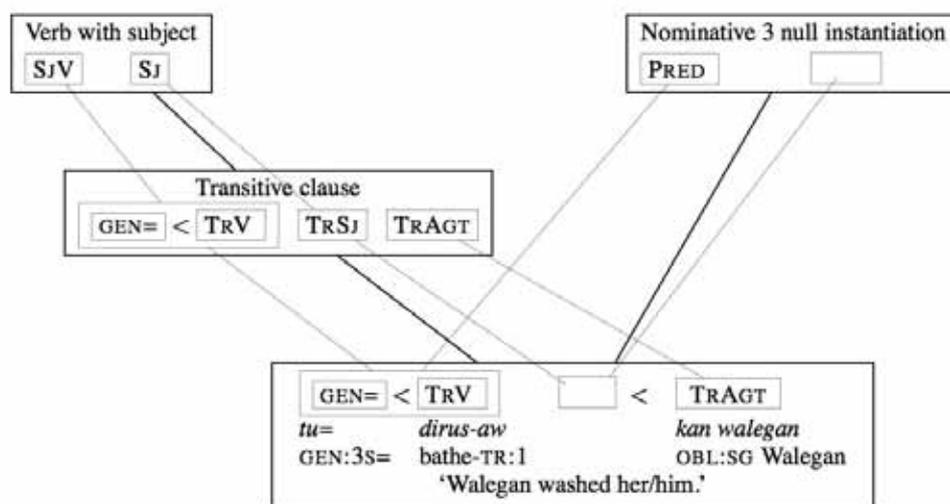
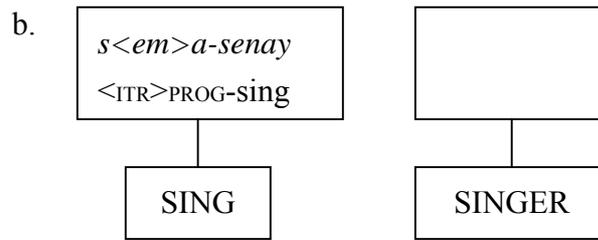


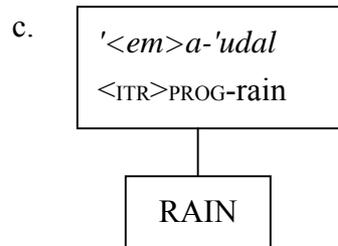
Figure 6: Puyuma nominative null instantiation

The examples in (14) represent - rather crudely - the form–meaning pairings of three intransitive clauses. In (14a) both the predicate and the argument are instantiated, as the verb and the subject enclitic respectively. In (14b) there is no instantiation of the subject argument, but the hearer infers from the verb *senay* ‘sing’ that there must be a contextually accessible singer. But in (14c) the verb *’udal* ‘rain’ signals that this is the ambient construction, i.e. the absence of a nominative does **not** signal a semantic role.

- (14) a.
- | | |
|--|---|
| <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin-bottom: 5px;"> <i>sa-senay</i>
 <ITR>PROG-sing </div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin: 0 auto; width: 80%;"> SING </div> | <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin-bottom: 5px;"> =ku
 =NOM:1S </div> <div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; margin: 0 auto; width: 80%;"> SINGER </div> |
| ‘I am/was singing.’ | |



‘S/he is/was singing.’



‘It is raining.’

3.1.6 The negative verbal clause construction

A declarative verbal clause is negated by placing the negator *aDi* at the beginning of the clause, i.e. before the verb, as seen in (15).

- (15) *aDi la senay i walegan*
 NEG PERF <ITR>sing NOM:S Walegan
 ‘Walegan didn’t sing.’

This, however, is the only generalisation which covers the negation of both intransitive and transitive verbs. It describes intransitive clauses, and the non-negative and negative constructions are shown in (16):

- (16) ITRV (ASP) ITRSJ (Intransitive clause construction)
aDi (ASP) ITRV ITRSJ (Negative intransitive clause construction)

A first- or second-person subject is encoded by a nominative enclitic attached to the first item of the clause (§3.1.5). In a negative declarative intransitive clause, this first item is the negator, and the nominative enclitic is attached to it.

- (17) *aDi=ta par-ka-inaba'*
 NEG=NOM:1IP RECIP-ka-good
 'We won't reconcile.'

The non-negative and negative intransitive constructions with a nominative enclitic are shown in (18):

- (18) ITRV=NOM:1/2 (ASP) (Intransitive clause construction)
aDi= NOM:1/2 (ASP) ITRV (Negative intransitive clause construction)

The negation of a declarative transitive clause differs from the intransitive in two respects. First, the verb always occurs in a special form: it has an irrealis transitive suffix (but not the reduplication that otherwise accompanies an irrealis suffix), as in the sentences in (19), regardless of whether the meaning is realis or irrealis. Second, if there is a nominative enclitic (marking the undergoer), it does not occur on the negator but remains on the verb, as in (19b). This is one of the exceptions noted in §3.1.5 to the generalisation that a nominative enclitic is a second-position enclitic (and the exception does not go away if we try to reformulate enclitic placement in terms of the 'predicate' instead of the first position).

- (19) a. *aDi tu=dirus-i na gung kan walegan*
 NEG GEN:3S=bathe-TR1/2:IRR NOM OX OBL:S Walegan
 'Walegan didn't wash the ox.'
- b. *aDi tu=dirus-i=ku kan walegan*
 NEG GEN:3S=bathe-TR1/2:IRR=NOM:1S OBL:S Walegan
 'Walegan didn't wash me.'

The basic non-negative and negative transitive clause constructions are shown in (20a), and the corresponding constructions with a nominative enclitic in (20b):

- (20) a. GEN=TRV (ASP) TRSJ (TRAGT)
aDi (ASP) GEN=TRV:IRR TRSJ (TRAGT)
- b. GEN = TRV =NOM:1/2 (ASP) TRSJ (TRAGT)
aDi (ASP) GEN = TRV: IRR = NOM:1/2 TRSJ (TRAGT)

A comparison of (20) with (16) and (18) makes it clear that we cannot posit a single parent construction to account for all negative declarative clauses with *aDi*.

3.2 Puyuma non-verbal clause constructions

Puyuma has a number of non-verbal clause constructions which can conveniently be categorised by function into classifying, identifying, locative, existential and possessive clauses. The taxonomic network which these constructions form, however, is rather complicated.

3.2.1 Classifying and identifying clauses

The basic classifying clause construction is seen in (21). It consists of a ‘classifying complement’ - an indefinite noun phrase - followed by a subject noun phrase. The classifying complement denotes a class to which the subject referent belongs.

- (21) *a redean na barasa’*
 NOM:INDEF foundation NOM:DEF stone
 ‘The stone is a foundation.’

In (22) a classifying clause also inherits the nominative enclitic construction (Figure 5), and the enclitic=*ku* is attached to the first item *a tipul*.

- (22) *a tipul=ku*
 NOM:INDEF tipul=NOM:1S
 ‘I am from Tipul.’ (more literally: ‘I am a Tipul.’)

The examples in (23) illustrate the identifying clause construction, which differs from the classifying construction in two ways. First, the identifying complement is definite, as the subject referent is equated with the complement referent. Second, in about 50% of relevant examples in the corpus a copula, *amau*, precedes the complement. The clause in (23b), incidentally, also reflects null instantiation of a third person subject (§3.1.5; cf also 26b below).

- (23) a. *amau tu=bangsaran kana barubaru naDu*
 COP NOM:P:3=man OBL:DEF Barubaru NOM:those
 ‘Those are Barubaru’s young men.’
- b. *amau na Denan i aramum*
 COP NOM:DEF mountain LOC Aramum
 ‘It is the mountain in Aramum.’

In (23) the bound pronoun *tu=* is glossed NOM:P:3. This indicates that the noun phrase itself is nominative but that the noun to which it is attached (*bangsaran*) has a third-person possessor.

In the one relevant example in the corpus, (24), the nominative enclitic=*mu* is not attached to *amau*, the first item, as we would expect, but to the identifying complement, *tu=temuwan* ‘her grandsons’ (the identifying clause is an embedded clause here and is bracketed for clarity’s sake). This is apparently another exception to the nominative enclitic construction (§3.1.5) like the one noted in §3.1.6.

- (24) *laba tu=pakamau=mu Da [amau tu=temuwan=mu]*
 maybe GEN:3=confirm=NOM:2P COMP COP NOM:P:3=grandchild=NOM:2P
 ‘Maybe she knew that [you were her grandsons].’

The negative classifying and negative identifying clause constructions resemble each other in that in both the complement is preceded by the negative copula *ameli*. They differ as one might expect: the classifying complements in (25) are indefinite, the identifying complements in (26) definite.

- (25) a. *ameli a payran i walegan*
 NEG:COP NOM:INDEF Taiwanese NOM:S Walegan
 ‘Walegan is not a Taiwanese.’
- b. *ameli=ta a payran*
 NEG:COP=NOM:1IP NOM:INDEF Taiwanese
 ‘We are not Taiwanese.’
- (26) a. *ameli tu=ni-laDa-laDam-an ta=ngai*
 NEG:COP GEN:P:3P=PERF-REDUP-know-NMSR NOM:P:1IP-word
 ‘Our language (Puyuma) is not what they (the younger generation) have learned.’
- b. *ameli niam=saigu-an*
 NEG:COP NOM:P:1EP-can- NMSR
 ‘It is not what we understand.’

If the classifying and identifying clause constructions, both affirmative and negative, are tabulated, as in (27), it becomes clear that (unlike their English counterparts in Figure 1) the two affirmative constructions do not obviously share an immediate parent.

(27)

	Affirmative		Negative	
Classifying	AFFCLCPT NOM:INDEF	AFFCLSJ NOM:DEF	<i>ameli</i> NEGCLCPT NOM:INDEF	NEGCLSJ NOM:DEF
Identifying	<i>amau</i> NOM:DEF	AFFIDCPT NOM:DEF	<i>ameli</i> NEGIDCPT NOM:DEF	NEGIDSJ NOM:DEF

If, for convenience’s sake, we were to give the label ‘predicate’ to the portion of the clause which excludes the subject. The predicate of the classifying construction would consist simply of a classifying complement (CLCPT), i.e. an indefinite nominative noun phrase. In the identifying construction, however, it would consist of the copula *amau* plus an identifying complement (IDCPT), a definite nominative noun phrase.

In English, all independent negative clauses share a parent negative construction, SUBJ < AUX=*n’t* < PRED, which expresses negation much as the inversion construction (Figure 3) expresses a polar question (among other things). In Puyuma there is no general parent negative construction. Verbal clauses are negated with the verbal negative construction with *aDi* (§3.1.6). Classifying and identifying clauses are negated with *ameli*, and existential, locative and possessive clauses with the negative

existential morpheme *unian* (§3.2.2).

Even the negation of classifying and identifying clauses is not straightforwardly achieved with a single parent construction. We can posit a parent negative copula construction, which captures the generalisation that *ameli* precedes the complement in both classifying and identifying negative clauses:

(28) *ameli* NEG:COPCPT NEG:COPSI

But this is a Puyuma instance of a ‘product-oriented schema’ (§2.1). Its products are uniform: they differ only in the definiteness of their complement. But because of the structural difference between the affirmative classifying and affirmative identifying constructions, the negative copula construction combines with each of them in a different way. In classifying constructions, *ameli* is **preposed** to the affirmative clause; in identifying constructions it **replaces** *amau*. These combinations are shown separately in Figure 7.

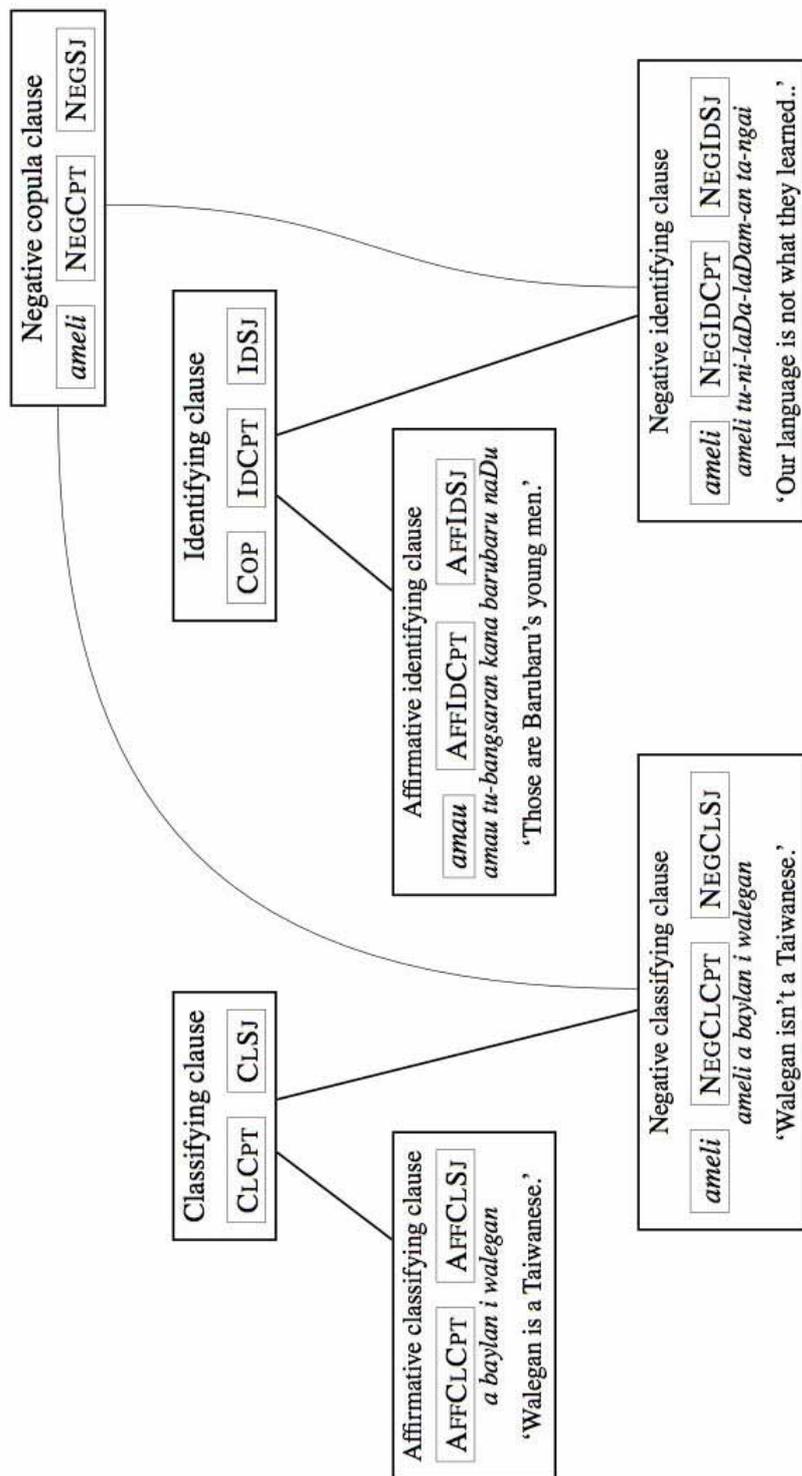


Figure 7: Puyuma classifying and identifying clause

3.2.2 Locative, existential, and possessive clauses

Almost all the constructions to be considered in this section begin with the (affirmative) existential morpheme *ulaya* or the negative existential morpheme *unian*.

The most straightforward of these are the locative constructions. In both, the existential morpheme is followed by a subject and a locative adjunct. The adjunct indicates the (non-)location of the subject. The subject is definite, as always. The sentences in (29) are affirmative, those in (30) negative. The locative adjunct is ‘required’ in the sense that if it is missing the hearer will infer it from the context. There is no locative adjunct in (30b), but the construction itself (*unian* + subject) tells the hearer to retrieve the location from the context (in this case, the previous clause).

- (29) a. *ulaya ku=paisu i papaTaran*
EXIST NOM:P:IS=money LOC table
 ‘My money is on the table.’
- b. *ulaya i temu-u i puyuma*
EXIST NOM:S grandparent-your LOC Puyuma
 ‘Your grandmother is in Puyuma.’
- (30) a. *unian ku=paisu i papaTaran*
NEG:EXIST NOM:P:IS=money LOC table
 ‘My money is not on the table.’
- b. *m-u-ruma’ la i, unian tu=walak kema*
ITR-go-house PERF TPC NEG:EXIST GEN:3=child EVID
 ‘When he went home, his children were not there.’

Although the order in these constructions is usually subject-before-adjunct, (31b) shows that the opposite order also occurs.

- (31) a. *ulaya i bae-li i sabak*
EXIST NOM:S older.sibling-P:IS LOC inside
 ‘My brother is inside.’
- b. *ulaya sabak i bae-li*
EXIST inside NOM:S older.sibling-P:IS
 ‘My brother is inside.’

The affirmative and negative existential constructions also begin with *ulaya* and *unian* respectively. However, unlike in the locative constructions above, the noun

phrase which follows them is never a definite nominative. Instead, the noun phrase which follows *ulaya* (31) is an indefinite nominative, and the noun phrase which follows *unian* (32) is an indefinite oblique. Since their case is determined by the existential morpheme, we label them ‘existential complements’. Thus both existential constructions are subjectless.¹²

- (32) a. *ulaya a paisu*
EXIST NOM:INDEF money
 ‘There’s money.’
- b. *asuwa Diyan i, ulaya a saya a Dekal*
when yet TPC EXIST NOM:INDEF one NOM:INDEF village
 ‘Once upon a time, there was a village...’
- (33) a. *unian Da paisu*
NEG:EXIST OBL:INDEF money
 ‘There’s no money.’

An existential clause may contain a locative adjunct, but, unlike the adjunct in the locative clause construction above, it is not required, and the indefiniteness and (in the negative) the case of the noun phrase following the existential morpheme marks these examples as the existential construction:

- (34) a. *ulaya a ma’iDang i puyuma*
EXIST NOM:INDEF old LOC Puyuma
 ‘There was an old man in Puyuma.’
- b. *ulaya a paisu i papaTaran*
EXIST NOM:INDEF money LOC table
 ‘There is money on the table.’
- c. *unian Da paisu i papaTaran*
NEG:EXIST NOM:INDEF money LOC table
 ‘There is no money on the table.’

The two locative and two existential constructions are tabulated in (35) in order to show the differences among them.

¹² Since copula constructions are intransitive, and the intransitive verbal construction may have an indefinite subject, one might argue that the complement of *ulaya* is a subject. But this would be terminological quibbling which would make no difference to the description of the construction. It would also introduce a complication into the analysis by making it the only Puyuma construction that **must** have an **indefinite** subject (transitive constructions must have a definite subject).

(35)

	Affirmative			Negative		
Locative	<i>ulaya</i>	LocS _J NOM:DEF	LocAD	<i>unian</i>	NEG LocS _J NOM:DEF	LocAD
Existential	<i>ulaya</i>	ExCPT NOM:INDEF		<i>unian</i>	NEGExCPT OBL:INDEF	

The relationship between the affirmative and negative members of each construction pair is straightforward insofar as negative *unian* replaces affirmative *ulaya*, but the two existential constructions display an extra complication: the cases of their complements differ. The relationship between the two pairs of constructions, i.e. between locative and existential, is not what it first appears: all they have in common is *ulaya* and *unian*.

Possessive clauses also begin with *ulaya* and *unian*, and have a function like English clauses with the verb *have*. Affirmative possessive clauses have a (definite nominative) subject which is a possessive noun phrase, that is, a noun phrase with both a possessum and a possessor, like *ku=paisu* ‘my money’ in (36a) or *tu=legian Da masalak* ‘the taboos of the hunting festival’ in (36b). More literal English translations of these sentences would be ‘My money exists’ and ‘Do the taboos of the hunting festival exist?’

- (36) a. *ulaya ku=paisu*
EXIST NOM:P:1S=money
 ‘I have money.’
- b. *ulaya tu=legian Da masalak kema?*
EXIST NOM:P:3-taboo OBL:INDEF hunting.festival EVID
 ‘Does the hunting festival have its taboos?’

The affirmative possessive construction resembles the affirmative locative construction, in that both have *ulaya* + subject: compare (36a) with (29a). The differences are that the possessive subject **must** be a possessive noun phrase (the locative subject may be one), whereas the locative construction requires a locative adjunct, but the possessive construction doesn’t.

Interestingly, the negative possessive construction is quite different from the affirmative. Here the possessor is the subject, and the possessum takes the form of an indefinite oblique noun phrase, like a negative existential complement. We label it the ‘possessum complement’. The difference between the affirmative and negative constructions is clearest in the pair (36a) and (37a).

- (37) a. *unian=ku Da paisu*
 NEG:EXIST=NOM:1S OBL:INDEF money
 ‘I don’t have money.’ (Possessive)
- b. *unian Da paisu i walegan*
 NEG:EXIST OBL:INDEF money NOM:S Walegan
 ‘Walegan doesn’t have money.’
- c. *an ma’iDang la a Tau aw [unian*
 when old PERF NOM:INDEF person and NEG:EXIST
la Da keDang ki-karun] i, tu=atel-anay
 PERF OBL:INDEF strength get-job TPC GEN:3-throw-TR3
i Dena-Denan
 LOC REDUP-mountain
 ‘When people got old and [did not have strength to work], they were thrown away to the mountains.’

The negative possessive construction in (37c) is bracketed in order to highlight it. At first sight it looks like an existential construction, but it is a possessive construction with the subject (*a Tau* ‘people’) understood from the previous conjunct.

The tabulation in (35) is repeated here as (38) with the addition of the possessive constructions, in order to show (a) the dissonance between affirmative and negative possessive constructions; (b) the resemblance between affirmative locative and possessive constructions and between negative existential and possessive constructions.

(38)

	Affirmative			Negative		
Locative	<i>ulaya</i>	LocSj	LocAd	<i>unian</i>	NEG LocSj	LocAd
		NOM:DEF			NOM:DEF	
Existential	<i>ulaya</i>	ExCPT		<i>unian</i>	NEGExCPT	
		NOM:INDEF			OBL:INDEF	
Possessive	<i>ulaya</i>	PossSj		<i>unian</i>	NEGPossCPT	NEGPossSj
		NOM:P:DEF			OBL:INDEF	NOM:DEF

There is another existential morpheme which occurs much less often in the corpus. This is a grammaticised version of the deictic *kaDu* ‘there’. As (39a) shows, *kaDu* may occur in both its grammaticised and ungrammaticised versions in single clause. Grammaticised *kaDu* occurs in affirmative locative (39) and in affirmative existential (40) clauses, replacing *ulaya* in the constructions above. It

never occurs in the affirmative possessive construction.

- (39) a. *kaDu-mi* *la* *kaDu*
 there-NOM:1IP PERF there
 ‘We then stayed/lived there.’
- b. *kaDu-ku* *i* *saninin* *i...*
 there-NOM:1S LOC neighbouring TPC
 ‘(When) I was next to it...’
- (40) *kaDu* *a* *miaDua* *a* *maLu-wadi*
 there NOM:INDEF two NOM:INDEF RECIP-younger.sibling
 ‘There were two brothers.’

Locative, existential and possessive constructions are shown in the form of a taxonomic network in Figure 8. This is instructive, as it shows that, from the point of view of their structure, these constructions form two groups. The first group has the existential subject clause construction as its parent, and includes the two locative constructions and the affirmative possessive clause construction. The second group has the existential complement clause construction as its parent, and includes the two existential clause constructions and the negative possessive clause construction. These two groups cannot be said to share a parent construction, as this would consist simply of an existential morpheme and an argument, with no specification of the latter’s grammatical role (since subject and complement are distinct grammatical roles). What links the two groups together is the occurrence in both of the existential morphemes *ulaya*, *kaDu* and *unian*.

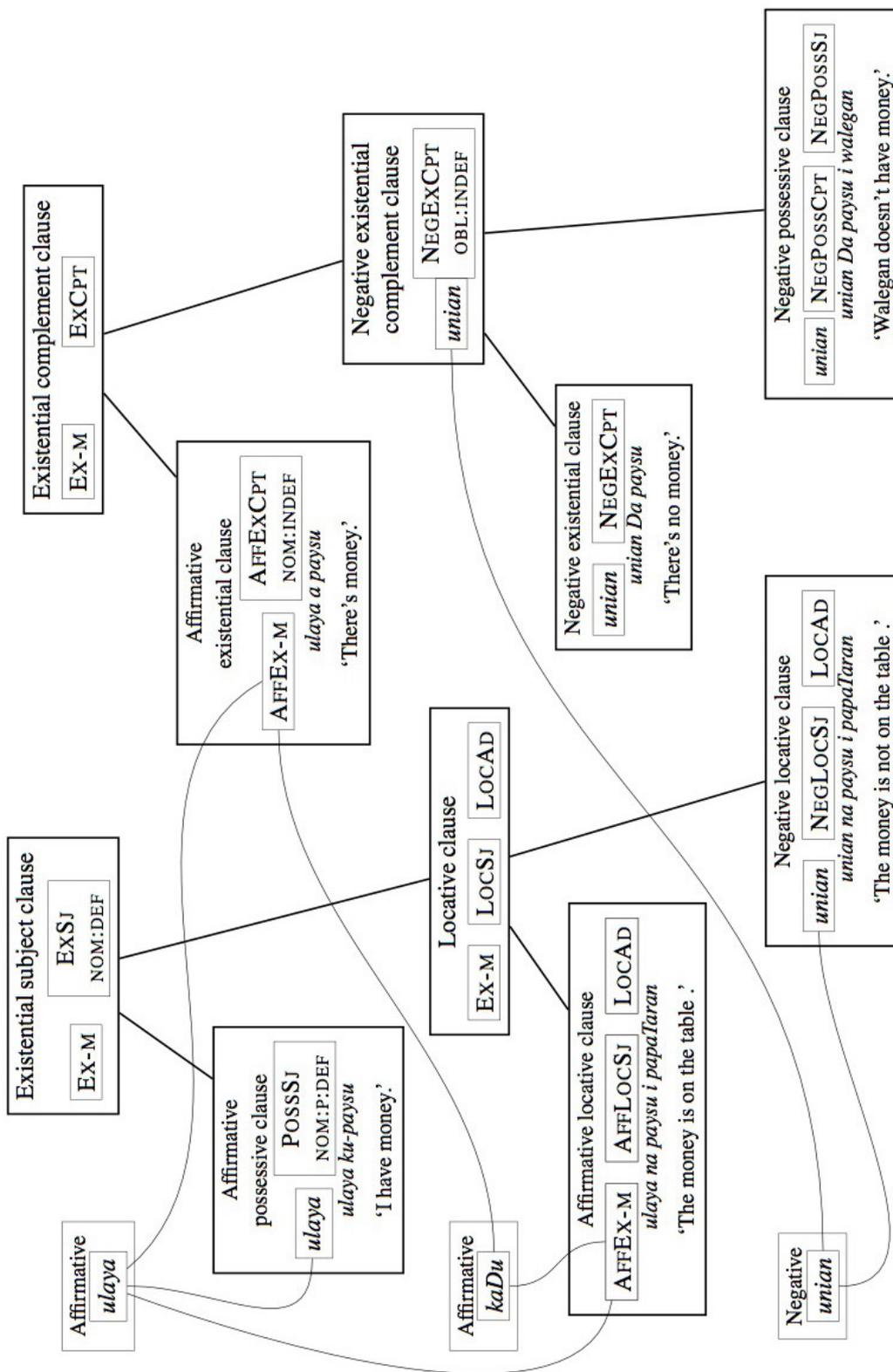


Figure 8: Puyuma locative, existential and possessive clause constructions

The possessive constructions are odd, as they do not form a pair. The affirmative possessive construction seems to have developed by analogy with the locative constructions, and so shares with them a parent existential subject construction. The negative possessive construction, on the other hand, seems to have developed by adding a subject to the negative existential construction. We have not treated this subject as having anything to do with the subject of the locative constructions, as its semantic role is quite different. The subject of the locative constructions is a semantic theme, the referent that is located by the rest of the clause. The subject of the negative possessive construction is the possessor, semantically more like a location than a theme. If there were a shared parent construction, it would be the quite abstract $P_{RED} S_J$ construction discussed below.

3.3 Puyuma parent constructions?

There is some evidence for positing more abstract parent constructions in Puyuma. Thus constructions in (41) all include a subject marked as nominative and definite. This implies a shared parent construction $P_{RED} S_J$.

(41)	Structure		Construction	Figure
	$S_J V$	S_J	‘verb with subject’	4
	CLC_{PT}	CLS_J	classifying	7
	$COP IdC_{PT}$	IdS_J	identifying	7
	$EX-M$	EXS_J	existential subject	8
<i>unian</i>	$NEGPOSSC_{PT}$	$NEGPOSSS_J$	negative possessive	8

Parallel to this, the ambient clause construction, $AMB V$ (Figure 4) and the existential complement clause construction $EX-M EXC_{PT}$ (Figure 8) imply a shared parent subjectless construction, i.e. just P_{RED} .

However, the evidence for a predicate in Puyuma is weak. There is just one piece of evidence for the predicate as an element in a schematic construction: items which serve a predicating function in Puyuma are clause-initial except where they are preceded by an adjunct or a topic.

One might expect the position of the nominative enclitic to help identify a predicate, but it does not. As we have shown, the nominative enclitic generally follows the first item of the clause but occasionally occurs elsewhere. We might argue that the nominative enclitic is attached to the predicate when it immediately follows the verb (§3.1.5) or *aDi* (§3.1.6), but not when it follows *aDi* + irrealis transitive verb (§3.1.6). Its behavior seems inconsistent in non-verbal clauses where

there is a noun phrase complement. It apparently follows the complement of *amau* + ID_{CPT} (§3.2.1), but intervenes between *ameli* and its complement in a negative classifying or identifying clause (§3.2.1) and between *unian* and its complement in a negative possessive clause (§3.2.1).

The reader may have noticed the position of the perfective marker *la* in various examples. It follows constituents which are good candidates for the predicate. For example, in a (non-negative) verbal clause construction it follows the verb, as in (11). In a negative verbal construction it follows the clause-initial negator *aDi*, as in (14). In non-verbal constructions the situation is not so simple.

In the classifying construction illustrated in (41), *la* follows the complement noun phrase (*a buLa-buLay-an*): there is no copula.

- (42) *a* *buLa-buLay-an* *la* *ina* *walak*
 NOM:INDEF REDUP-beautiful-NMSR PERF NOM:DEF child
 ‘The child became a beautiful woman.’

But in the copula constructions for which we have evidence, *la* follows the copula and precedes the complement noun phrase. In (43) it follows the copula *amau*.

- (43) *amau* *la* *na* *dare’* *na* *ma-raya-rayas*
 COP PERF NOM:DEF earth NOM:DEF ITR-REDUP-often
 ‘It became the smooth land.’

In (37c) it follows the negative existential morpheme *unian*.

To claim that the predicate consists of the predicate noun phrase when there is no copula or existential morpheme but excludes the predicate noun phrase when a copula occurs seems decidedly odd. A better generalisation is that *la* occurs after the first minimal phrase of the part of the clause over which it has scope. It thus seems to us that the evidence for an abstract P_{RED} S_J construction in Puyuma speakers’ heads is marginal at best.

4. Conclusion

The architecture of the Puyuma clause system is strikingly different from its English counterpart. In English, all major clause types contain a verb and reflect a shared parent construction, as shown in Figure 1 (but there are some minor types that arguably do not, e.g. *The bigger, the better*). Puyuma, on the other hand, has three distinct systems, each with its own parent construction(s): the verbal system, shown in

Figure 4; the copula system, shown in Figure 7; and the system based on the existential morphemes, shown in Figure 8. Indeed, neither the copula system nor the existential system has a single parent construction of its own. The copula system is bound together by the operation of the negative, and the existential system is united not by shared syntactic structure but by the existential morphemes themselves.

Patterns like the English one are found in many Indo-European languages, but less frequently elsewhere. The Puyuma system, on the other hand, has features found around the world, to judge from the short surveys by Hengeveld (1992:194-208) and Payne (1997:111-128). According to Payne, it is quite common to find different copulas and existential morphemes used for affirmative and negative clauses, and for the morphemes used in classifying and identifying clauses to be different from those used in locative/existential/possessive clauses. It is also the norm that a language with a copula that forms its own morpheme class will have a negative copula construction that is distinct from verbal negation (Ferguson 1972:109).

It is common for classifying clauses to be without a copula, but there appears to be a near-universal implicational pattern that if the classifying clause construction has no copula, the identifying clause construction will not have one either. The Puyuma pattern - a copula in the identifying construction but none in the classifying construction - is unusual. At least, it does not appear in Hengeveld's sample (Hengeveld 1992:215, 227-229). Ferguson (1972:96-97) finds that if a language is in the process of losing or gaining a copula construction, i.e. there is a construction where the copula is optional or sporadic, this construction will be the identifying construction. This implies a sequence in which (i) copula loss occurs first in the identifying construction, then in the classifying construction, or (ii) copula gain occurs first in the classifying construction, then in the identifying construction. Stassen (1997:111-120) approaches the typology of identifying and classifying clauses differently from Ferguson, but the expected outcomes are the same as Ferguson's. Puyuma has a pattern not predicted by Ferguson and Stassen, as it is the identifying construction that has sporadic occurrence of the copula, and the classifying construction that has no copula.

Puyuma also seems to be exceptional in another respect: verb-initial languages like Puyuma usually have no copula constructions (Payne 1990:15), but Puyuma does have copula constructions.

Clark (1978) showed in a crosslinguistic survey that it is very common for locative, existential and possessive clauses to have similar constructions. Most of the differences among the three arise from the difference in definiteness of the theme item. Puyuma differs from many languages, however, in always encoding

definiteness, and in Puyuma, where subjects are always definite, this has the effect of dividing this group of constructions into those with a (definite) subject and those with an (indefinite) complement. Large numbers of languages also use their existential construction for the possessive, but we have found no evidence that affirmative and negative possession are commonly expressed by different constructions.

Appendices

A Puyuma noun phrase case-markers and bound pronouns

Table 1: Puyuma noun phrase case-markers

Noun type:	Common		Personal		Location
	Definite	Indefinite	Singular	Plural	
Nominative	<i>na, ina</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>i</i>
Oblique	<i>kana</i>	<i>Da</i>	<i>kan</i>	<i>kana</i>	

Table 2: Puyuma bound pronouns

		1S	2S	3S	1IP	1EP	2P	3P
Nominative	NOM:	= <i>ku</i>	= <i>yu</i>	∅	= <i>ta</i>	= <i>mi</i>	= <i>mu</i>	∅
Nominative possessed	NOM:P	<i>ku=</i>	<i>nu=</i>	<i>tu=</i>	<i>ta=</i>	<i>niam=</i>	<i>mu=</i>	<i>tu=</i>
Genitive	GEN:	<i>ku=,</i> <i>ti=</i>	<i>nu=</i>	<i>tu=</i>	<i>ta=</i>	<i>mi=</i>	<i>mu=</i>	<i>tu=</i>

B Abbreviations

B.1 Abbreviations used in Puyuma interlinear examples are as follows:

1,2,3	first, second, third (person or transitive)
COMP	complementiser
COP	copula
EDF	definite
EP	exclusive plural
EVID	evidential
EXIST	existential morpheme
GEN	genitive
INDEF	indefinite
IP	inclusive plural
ITR	intransitive
LOC	locative
NEG	negative

NMSR	nominaliser
NOM	nominative
OBL	oblique
P	plural
PERF	perfective
PROG	progressive
RECIP	reciprocal
REDUP	reduplication
S	singular
TPC	topic
TR	transitive

B.2 Abbreviations of elements of clause constructions

Abbreviations of elements of clause constructions are composed in a fairly consistent way. Most abbreviations fall into parts, each beginning with a large capital. The rightmost parts of the abbreviations are:

AD	adjunct
AGT	agent
CPT	complement
EXT	extension to core
GOAL	goal
OJ	object
PAT	patient
SJ	subject
V	verb

These are preceded by modifying abbreviations, as follows:

A	adjectival
AFF	affirmative
AMB	ambient
CI	caused inceptive

CL	classifying
COP	copula
E	extended
EX	existential
D _{TR}	ditransitive
ID	identifying
I _{TR}	intransitive
LOC	locative
N	nominal
NEG	negative
POSS	possessive
R	relational
S	simple
S _J	with subject
TR	transitive

Abbreviations which do not enter into the pattern above are:

AGR _{TRIGGER}	agreement trigger
AUX	auxiliary
EX-M	existential morpheme
MORPH _{I_{TR}V}	morphological intransitive verb
MORPH _{VERB}	morphological verb
PRED	predicate
TPN	TENSE/PERSON/NUMBER

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Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies and Centre for Research on Language Change
The Australian National University
Canberra, AUSTRALIA
Malcolm.Ross@anu.edu.au

Research School of Pacific and Asian Studies,
The Australian National University
Canberra, AUSTRALIA
stacyteng@yahoo.com.tw

卑南語南王方言的子句結構

Malcolm Ross

澳洲國立大學亞太研究學院及語言變遷研究中心

牛津聖凱瑟琳學院

鄧芳青

澳洲國立大學亞太研究學院

本篇文章依循 Croft (2001) 在 “Radical Construction Grammar” 所提出的理論架構來分析卑南語南王方言的主要子句結構，目的是為了呈現結構語法如何從類型學角度闡明不同結構之間的相似相異點。當我們比較卑南語和英語的子句系統，我們發現其間存有極大的不同。在英語，所有主要子句類型都必須要有動詞，因此反映出他們有一個共同的母結構；反之，卑南語有三種不同的子句系統，包括：動詞系統、繫詞 (copula) 系統、以及所有跟存在詞位有關的系統，而這些系統都各自源於不同的母結構。

關鍵詞：卑南語、完全結構語法、子句類型、類型學、動詞子句、繫詞、分類子句、辨識子句、方位句、存在句、所有句